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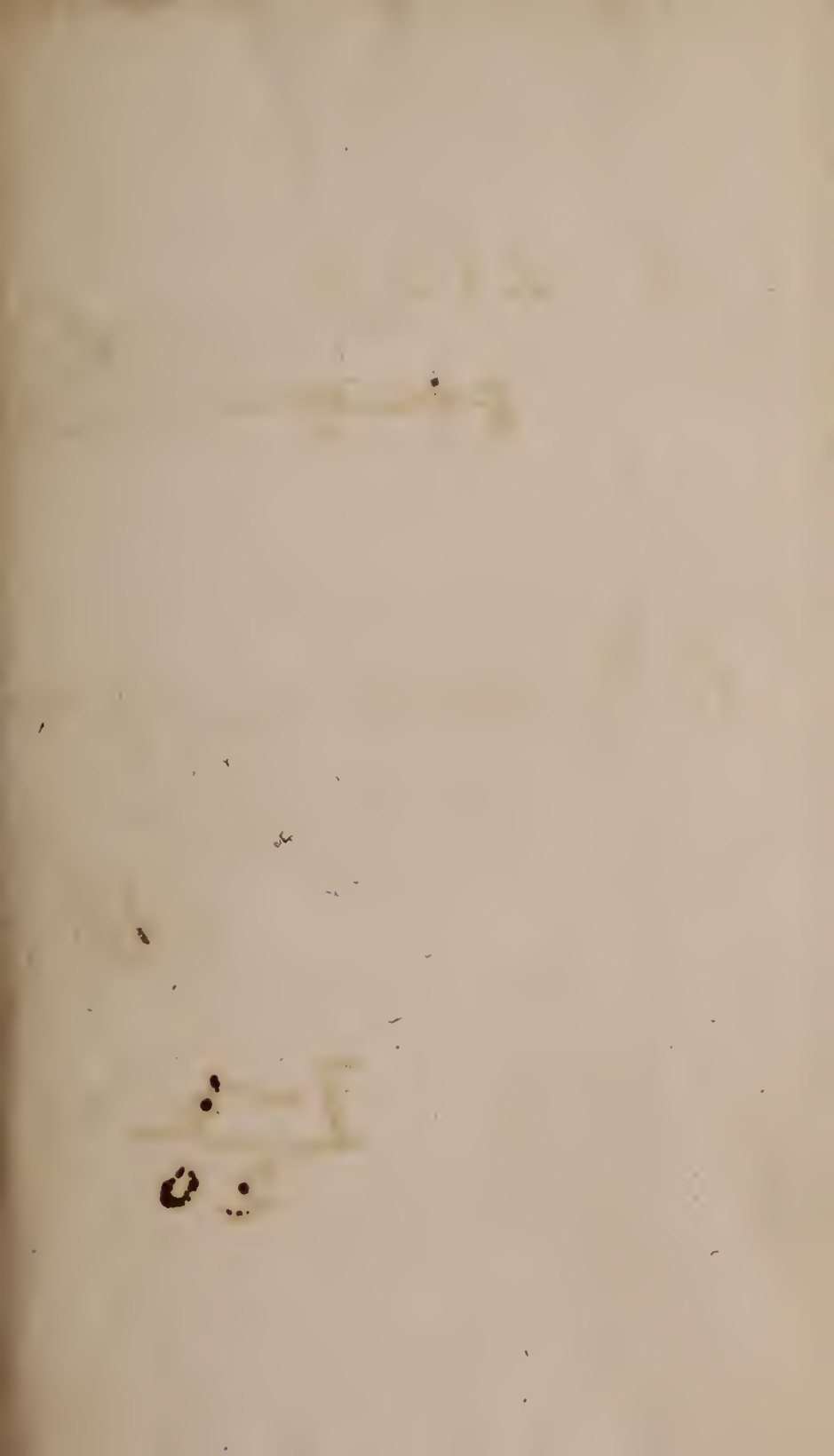
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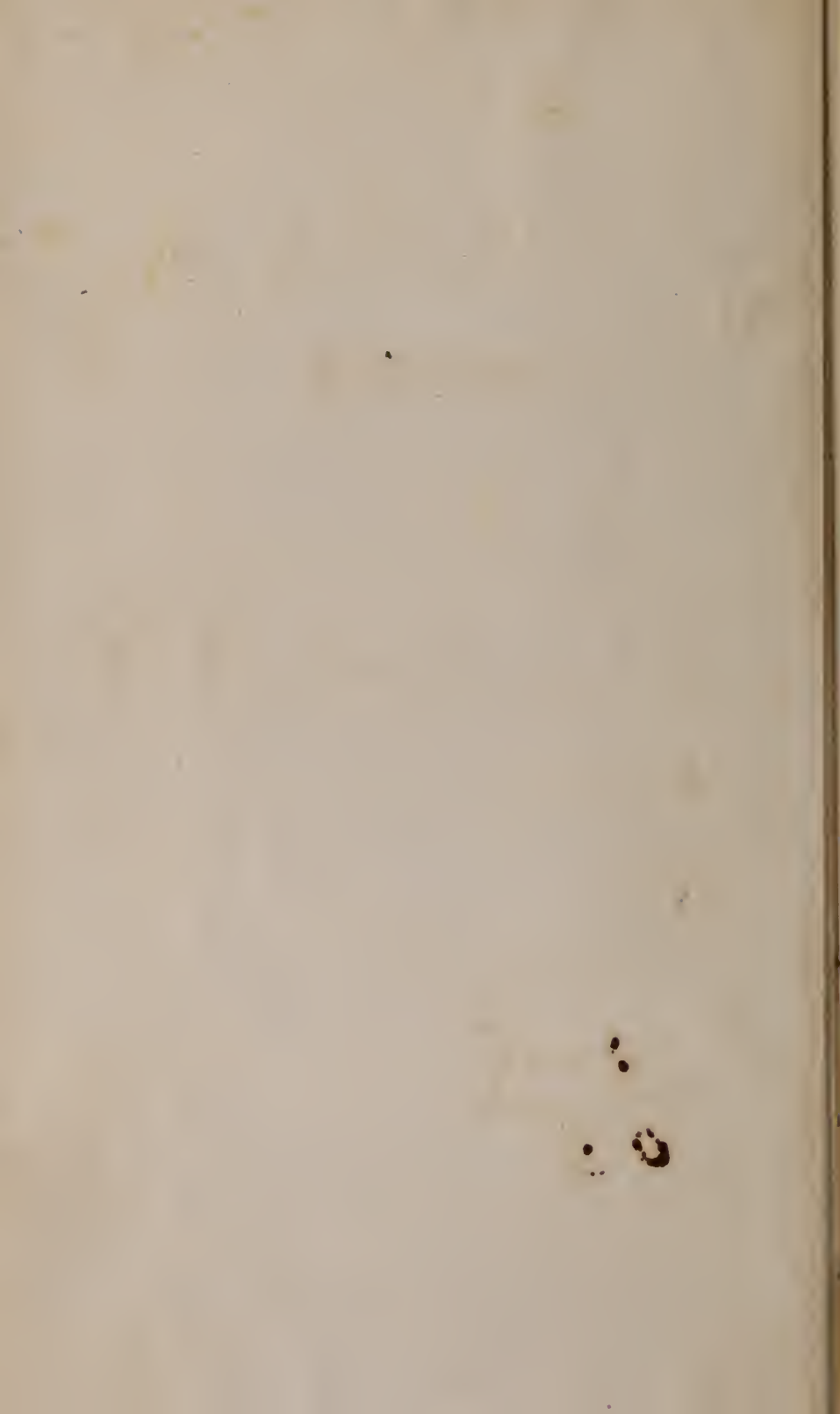
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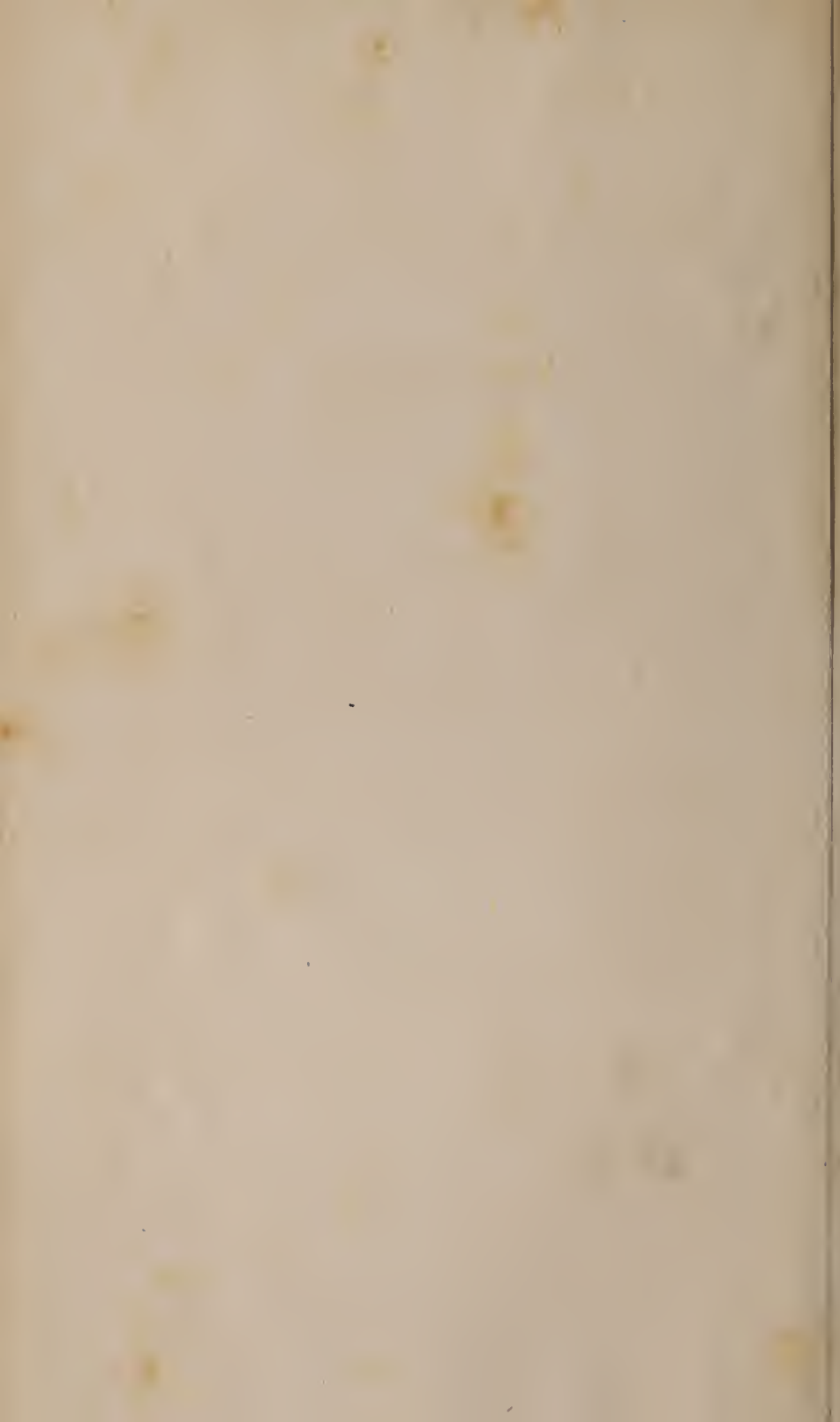
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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XV.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN
COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON:
1839.

NOTICE.

To complete the volume to which this Index belongs, has been much desired, and has been in contemplation since the death of Mr. DUNN, the proprietor of the work at that time. But the unsettled state of the affairs of the deceased, and the slow process since in collecting the money due his estate, rendered it impossible to do so before this. It is hoped, however, that the volume being now complete, no further obstacles will be in the way of speedy collections, and that the orphan children of Mr. DUNN will thus be opportunely relieved.

To those persons especially who have been in the habit of preserving and having the Repository bound, for future reference, this title and index will be very acceptable, and of the greatest utility.

WASHINGTON, OCT. 4, 1841.

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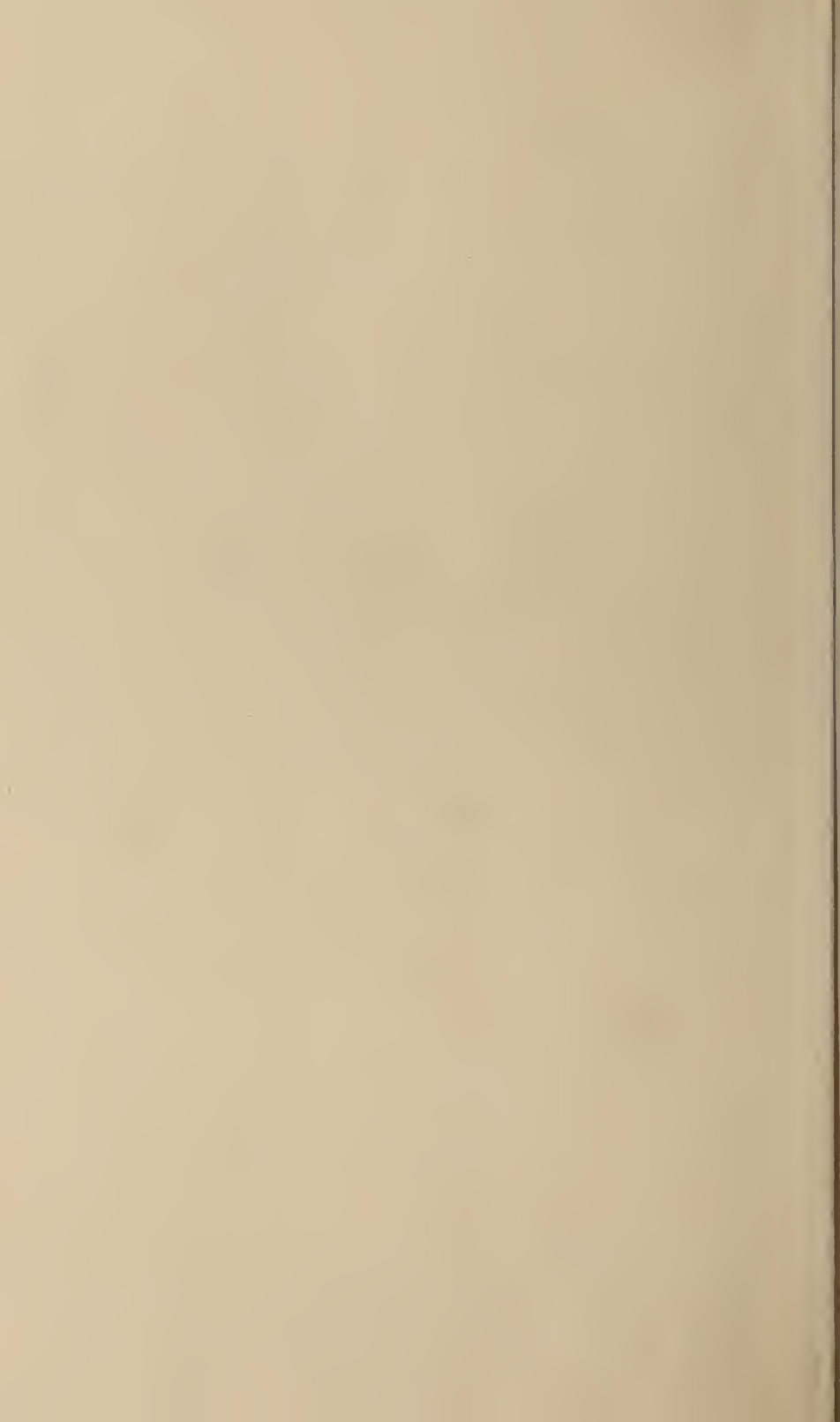
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VOL. XV.] Washington, April, 1839. [No. 7.

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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. TAPPAN AND MR. KEY.

THE following correspondence between these gentlemen presents one of the most interesting and important papers to which the Slavery question has given birth, and is most appropriate to the times. Mr. Key's letter is entitled to peculiar weight, from his situation and experience, and his well known feelings and active humanity, for many years, in behalf of the colored race. His statements and opinions upon any subject would be entitled to credit; but upon one to which he has long and carefully attended, with the most ample opportunities of information and observation, for the sole purpose of ascertaining what was best to be done in relation to it, it is not easy to believe they can be very erroneous. His answer is the testimony of a witness, peculiarly qualified by his opportunities of observation, to the state of slavery in a portion of the South; to the manner in which it has been affected by northern Abolitionists; and to the only practical influence which can be brought to bear on it. It shows that many and grave errors exist at the North in relation to the whole subject; that some of these errors involve unfounded imputations on the southern religious community; that the evils of slavery have been aggravated by northern interference; that what, in the spirit of fierce abstractions, has been denounced as cruelty and oppression, is often the highest benevolence; that the idea of emancipation, unconnected with removal, is repudiated by the whole South; that the experience of such emancipation has been unfavorable; that the Colonization scheme is the plan for meliorating the condition of the black race most likely to succeed; that lively and extending interest is felt at the South in their religious instruction; and that in this the North may usefully and actively co-operate, provided its aid be given with suitable caution. We highly approve of the plan adopted by Mr. Tappan and his associates, mentioned in his letter, of corresponding with gentlemen at the South, whom they know to be men of character and intelligence. We hope they will pursue their inquiries in this way as extensively as possible; and, if made and answered (as in the present correspondence) in a spirit of kindness and fairness, we confidently believe that such a light will be thrown upon this subject as shall draw the North and the South together, to unite in a great work of patriotism and benevolence.

As the Abolition prints profess great and almost exclusive zeal for truth, we trust that they will take proper means to circulate the following letters:

Augusta, (Me.) July 31, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR—Some years since, I had the pleasure of travelling in company with you from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and was indebted to you for the privilege of being introduced to the acquaintance and hospitality of

the much-beloved and respected Dr. Nevins. I know not whether you will recollect the circumstance, but I must make it my apology for writing to you now with somewhat more of freedom than I would feel in addressing a stranger.

The subject of slavery has frequently come up, within two or three years past, in the meetings in New England of ecclesiastical bodies, and resolutions have been passed, expressing their views respecting it. At a late meeting of the General Conference of Maine, (consisting of clerical and lay delegates from the county conferences of Congregational churches throughout the State,) a committee was raised, of seven clergymen, to correspond with ecclesiastical bodies at the South. After some consultation, the committee were of opinion that it would be advisable, in the first place, to correspond, individually, with individuals at the South. In conformity to that opinion, I am taking the liberty, dear sir, to address this communication to you. *You*, I am persuaded, will not accuse us of intermeddling, in this matter, with that which does not belong to us. You have welcomed the aid of your fellow citizens at the North in the colonization enterprise—in the hope (if I have not misunderstood your views) that the influence of that enterprise would be conducive to the termination of slavery. You will not, therefore, object to the inquiry, whether our influence may not be exerted at the North, as well as at the South, bearing more directly upon such a consummation.

Our first object, in the correspondence proposed, is to obtain information. Permit me, then, to request your attention to the following inquiries :

Does the opinion generally prevail among the ministers and members of southern churches that slaveholding, as practised in this country, is sanctioned by the Word of God? If this is not their opinion, how do they justify themselves in holding slaves?

Do professors of religion forfeit their Christian character by *buying* and *selling* slaves, as they may find it convenient? or do they subject themselves to censure and discipline by any immorality or ill treatment of which they may be guilty towards slaves?

Since the discussion of slavery in the Legislature of Virginia, a few years since, has there been in that State any change of opinion more favorable to the continuance of the present system? If so, to what causes is that change to be attributed?

Is it the general belief of humane and Christian Colonizationists at the South that slaves *ought* not to be emancipated, unless they are also sent out of the country? If this is their opinion, on what is it founded? Were they set free, would not their labor still be needed, and might it not be rewarded on terms more advantageous to both parties than under present arrangements?

Is there any good reason to believe that any thing of importance will be done, *generally speaking*, to prepare the slaves for freedom, before they are made free?

Is there not an under current of opinion and feeling in the South, among the more enlightened and philanthropic, and is it not widening and strengthening, against the continuance of the present system, and an increasing conviction that it may safely and advantageously be abolished?

What will probably be the influence upon the southern mind of the experiment now in progress in the West Indies?

What, in your opinion, has been the effect, on the whole, at the South, of the efforts of abolitionists? Were the letters which passed, the last winter, between Mr. Ellmore and Mr. Birney, read (to any considerable extent)

by southern members of Congress? So far as they were read, what was the impression produced by the statements and reasonings of Mr. Birney?

Can there be any useful co-operation between good people at the North and South (except by means of the Colonization Society) in efforts for abolishing or meliorating the present system of slavery?

What are the present prospects of the American Colonization Society?

Have many of the officers of this Society liberated and colonized their own slaves?

Begging you to excuse the liberty which I have now taken, and requesting an answer at as early a period as you may find it convenient,

I remain, my dear sir,

Very respectfully, yours,

BENJAMIN TAPPAN.

To Francis S. Key, Esq.

P. S. It is not proposed to make any public use of your name, in connexion with any facts, or opinions, which you may have the kindness to communicate.

Washington, 8th Oct., 1838.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—A long absence from home prevented my receiving your letter till lately; and, though I could wish for more time and leisure to answer it more fully and satisfactorily, I will endeavor to do it without further delay. I well remember our meeting on the occasion you mention; though that would not be necessary to induce me to treat with all respect and attention a letter from you on any subject, and particularly on one which has long and greatly interested me. Before I answer your questions, you will excuse my saying a few words of myself—as that may serve to show how far I am competent to answer them, and what my answers may be worth.

I was born in Maryland, and have always lived in a slave State—am pretty well acquainted with the middle States, and have been as far as Alabama to the South. No northern man began the world with more enthusiasm against slavery than I did. For forty years and upwards, I have felt the greatest desire to see Maryland become a free State, and the strongest conviction that she could become so. That desire and that conviction have not abated in the least—I feel sure that it will be so. I have always been endeavoring to aid in promoting that object, and do so still. I consider it now in the course of accomplishment; and, could I give you all the facts in my possession, and the results of my observation and experience for many years, I believe you would come to this conclusion—that there is now a field open for the labors of all who wish to promote emancipation, to which they should direct and confine their efforts, and that such efforts, if *pursued in the right way*, would accomplish more, in comparatively a few years, than has ever been yet effected; and with these great advantages—that the dissensions arising from this delicate and exciting subject would be every where quieted, and the condition of the slaves in the other States greatly meliorated. Had I time, I would like to go on to the North and maintain these propositions. As this cannot be the case, let me now say a word or two more about them.

You may ask why such efforts should be confined to Maryland? I answer: because, first, they would there be readily received; secondly, her people see the advantages of her becoming a free State; thirdly, she is the border State, and can obtain free labor; and, fourthly, that species of labor,

already prevailing in some parts of the State, manifests its superiority by every sort of improvement. These, and many other causes now in full operation, show—what experience will prove—that no slave State adjacent to a free State can continue so. The people of Maryland are satisfied of this; and a vast majority of them are not only content, but pleased at the prospect. Her Legislature has declared these views, and, with reference to such a result, has made liberal appropriations to the scheme of Colonization.—The State has a Colony of its own at Cape Palmas. Its condition is flourishing; and, notwithstanding many difficulties, and the violent and most unreasonable opposition of the abolitionists, the coloured people have consented to remove to it, as fast as their establishment there could be prudently conducted, under present circumstances. It is true that her slave population is diminishing, at the same time, by other means. Her proximity to a free State enables many to escape. Indeed, near the Pennsylvania line, there are few slaves but such as are willing to continue so.—Many are also sold, and many remove with their masters to the South, where their labor is more profitable. This, I agree, is not so favorable a disposition of them as Colonization; but it cannot be helped, and it is better for them than remaining slaves in Maryland, where the unprofitableness of their labor makes it difficult for their masters to maintain them comfortably.

You may also desire to know what I mean by qualifying these efforts to be made in Maryland by saying they must be "*pursued in the right way*"—and you may ask if I do not mean, by this *right way*, Colonization. I answer, that it must be done in a way that the people of Maryland will agree to. Nothing can be more unreasonable than to attempt it in any other way. And if there is any way, to which they will consent, which is better for the slaves than their present condition, it ought to be acquiesced in, even by those who may think that there is a better way. Now, there are some ways in which the people of Maryland will never agree to these efforts being made: 1st. Not by abolition publications—because they are dangerous and unnecessary. It is vain to argue about their being dangerous. They know it from experience, and certainly are better judges of what is dangerous to persons in their situation than any men elsewhere can be. Further—whether better judges or not, they will be, and they ought to be, the only judges; for the danger is to themselves. And such efforts are proved to be unnecessary; for there are now, and always have been, more slaves ready to be emancipated than there are means to remove from the State—that condition of removal being, as the people of Maryland think, (allowing some exceptions,) indispensable. Of this I shall speak hereafter. 2dly. They will not allow an immediate and general emancipation, deeming it ruinous both to the slaves and themselves. And 3dly. They require, as a condition, removal from the State, except in particular instances, where the slaves, on account of their good conduct and character, may be allowed to remain, on certain conditions. That such removal may be accomplished in a way advantageous to the liberated slaves, the door of Colonization has been opened. We believe (we think upon undoubted evidence) that, besides the obvious and immense advantages to Africa, this mode of disposition is the best for them: and we are sure that time will make this apparent to all. But, if the people of the free States think otherwise, and are so sure that they may remain safely, happily and usefully in Maryland, as to be willing to receive them within their own limits, there would be no objection to their doing so. If there is this difference of opinion as to their remaining among the whites, between the people of the free States and the slave States, surely the only fair way of settling it is for those who are in favor of their remain-

ing to take them. It is unnecessary, therefore, to discuss this question. If ever so necessary, I am sure it would be vain; for the people of Maryland have an experience upon the subject that no arguments could shake. And they will believe that they are more competent to decide it than the people of the free States can possibly be.

I will, however, state the result of my own experience. I have emancipated seven of my slaves. They have done pretty well, and six of them, now alive, are supporting themselves comfortably and creditably. Yet I cannot but see that this is all they are doing now; and, when age and infirmity come upon them, they will probably suffer. It is to be observed, also, that these were selected individuals, who were, with two exceptions, brought up with a view to their being so disposed of, and were made to undergo a probation of a few years in favorable situations, and, when emancipated, were far better fitted for the duties and trials of their new condition than the general mass of slaves. Yet I am still a slaveholder, and could not, without the greatest inhumanity, be otherwise. I own, for instance, an old slave, who has done no work for me for years. I pay his board and other expenses, and cannot believe that I sin in doing so.

The laws of Maryland contain provisions of various kinds, under which slaves, in certain circumstances, are entitled to petition the courts for their freedom. As a lawyer, I always undertook these causes with peculiar zeal, and have been thus instrumental in liberating several large families and many individuals. I cannot remember more than two instances, out of this large number, in which it did not appear that the freedom I so earnestly sought for them was their ruin. It has been so with a very large proportion of all others I have known emancipated. A gentleman in Maryland, upwards of thirty years ago, emancipated, by his will, between two and three hundred negroes. They all took (as they were required to do) his name. For several years, they crowded our cities, where their vices and idleness were notorious, and their sufferings extreme. I have not seen one for many years, and am informed there are none in the county where they were liberated. There may be some in the free States. Their name was Barnes. I do not believe there could be now found in Maryland twenty of the name.

It is in vain, in the face of facts like these, which every man I have ever spoken with upon the subject avows his knowledge of, to talk of the British West India Islands and the apprentice system—at least, it must be vain to talk of these things till they are fully tried. I shall be surprised, though gratified, if the result of these experiments differs from that of similar attempts in Maryland. I observe that, at the last anti-slavery anniversary, it was admitted that the apprentice system was all wrong, and had failed; and now, the recent accounts from Jamaica represent the deplorable state of the Island, in consequence of the refusal of the negroes to work, except for wages beyond the power of the planters to give.

I will proceed now to answer your questions. This is the first:

“Does the opinion generally prevail among the ministers and members of southern churches, that slaveholding, as practised in this country, is sanctioned by the Word of God? If this is not their opinion, how do they justify themselves in holding slaves?”

The ministers and members of southern churches will not attempt to justify themselves in any thing without the sanction of the Word of God: the latter part, therefore, of the question is unnecessary. You ask, then, if we believe that slaveholding, as practised in this country, is sanctioned by the Word of God. I answer, that they believe generally, I think, that Scripture contains neither an express sanction nor an express prohibition on the subject. It gives general rules to govern men's conduct towards each

other, applicable to this and all other cases. If men cannot hold slaves without violating these rules, they must not hold them; and, if these rules permit or require us, under any circumstances, to hold slaves, then the Word of God sanctions *such* slaveholding. Take, then, the great rule of the Gospel—"Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." This must govern all possible cases of human conduct, and bears, of course, upon this question, as to slaveholding. Does it sanction slaveholding *under all circumstances?* or prohibit slaveholding *under all circumstances?* It does (and I think most wisely) neither—leaving it to be determined by circumstances whether this law of love authorizes or forbids it. If a Christian, then, considering whether he shall hold a slave or not, takes this rule, and applies it honestly, as in the sight of God, to his case, and comes fairly to the conclusion that he should, who shall condemn him? All that can be said is that he is misled by prejudice or interest, and has come to a wrong conclusion. Hundreds and thousands of Christians, showing, in their whole life, undoubted evidences of the faith which they profess, have so applied this rule to their consciences, and so come to this conclusion. Their brethren at the North, knowing nothing of the peculiar circumstances under which they have acted, nor of the care and faithfulness with which they have inquired and decided, call upon them to justify themselves for violating the sanctions of God's word. This, I am willing to believe, is more owing to want of information than of charity; though, certainly, even without information, it would be only reasonable to indulge the hope and the belief that there was something of a justificatory nature in the circumstances surrounding their distant brethren, which should relieve them from such an accusation.

Consider what a proposition it is that must be maintained by those who thus denounce, in these sweeping terms, all slaveholders. It is this—a man always violates the divine precept of doing as he would be done by, when he holds a slave.

Strange as this proposition would sound to any one at all acquainted with the various circumstances under which persons in a slave State become the owners and holders of slaves, yet I doubt not many honest, but heated, abolitionists are ready to maintain it. Indeed, it is often avowed in their publications. Yet I think it is easy to state a few instances in which it would seem impossible to deny that this precept not only permitted, but required, the holding of a slave—and they are instances continually occurring.

A man becomes (sometimes by no act of his own) the owner of an old or infirm slave, when emancipation would be the basest cruelty, and there is no way of maintaining him in comfort, but by holding him as a slave—is he to be emancipated? So of a slave who is idle, intemperate, &c. &c., who, without wholesome restraint, would be wretched himself, and a plague to all others—would this Christian precept require him to be emancipated? So of all cases where the holder of slaves conscientiously believes that their condition, from the peculiar circumstances of their situation, will be made worse by freedom—worse to themselves and others.

There are, again, other instances when a benevolent man will meet, in a slave community, with such appeals to his charity, that he will buy and hold slaves, because he wishes to do as he would be done by. Many are so bought and held. A slave may have an unkind master—may be about to be sold away from his friends or family—a family of slaves may be liable to separation: in all these cases, a man who is known to be a good master, and who has the means of employing them so as to maintain them comfortably, will be importuned to purchase them. It will be a manifest improvement in their condition. Will not this Christian precept sanction his

yielding to their entreaties. It may be said that he should buy them and liberate them. This, even if satisfied that it would be better for them, he might not be able to afford. And shall he refuse to do the lesser charity, because he has not the means to do the greater?

I therefore answer your first question thus—"Slaveholding, as practised in this country, is sanctioned by the Word of God," when it is practised, as I know it often is, in such instances as I have stated, and in many others, consistently with the Christian precept of doing as we would be done by. And "slaveholding, as practised in this country" otherwise, as when slaves are bought and held for the mere purposes of gain by traffic, or by extorting their labor without any regard to their welfare, (for it must be admitted that it is so practised by some,) is not sanctioned by the Word of God. So that slaveholding is right or wrong (as many other things are) according as it is practised. I have not thought it necessary to advert to some passages of Scripture which it seems hard to reconcile with the idea that slaveholding, under all circumstances, is within its prohibitions.

Your 2d question is as follows:

"Do professors of religion forfeit their Christian character by buying and selling slaves, as they may find it convenient? or do they subject themselves to censure and discipline by any immorality or ill treatment of which they might be guilty towards their slaves?"

The persons among us who buy and sell slaves for profit are never, as I have ever heard or believe, professors of religion. Such conduct, or any immorality or ill treatment towards their slaves, would forfeit their Christian character and privileges, if their minister did his duty. And nothing more disgraces a man, in general estimation, than to be guilty of any immorality or ill treatment towards his slaves.

3d question—"Since the discussion of slavery in the Legislature of Virginia, a few years since, has there been in that State any change of opinion more favorable to the continuance of the present system? If so, to what causes is that change to be attributed?"

A considerable change of opinion has taken place in all the middle States, particularly, perhaps, in Virginia and Maryland, such as your question suggests. Some, who were favorable to emancipation connected with removal, now avow themselves against it altogether, and against the agitation of every thing connected with slavery, and show less kind feeling toward the blacks. I attribute this to the publications and efforts of the abolitionists.

4th question—"Is it the general belief of humane and Christian Colonizationists in the South, that slaves ought not to be emancipated, unless they are also sent out of the country? If this is their opinion, on what is it founded? Were they set free, would not their labor still be needed, and might it not be secured on terms more advantageous to both parties than under present arrangements?"

It is, I believe, universally so thought by them. I never heard a contrary opinion, except that some conceived, some time ago, that a territory in our country, to the West, might be set apart for them. But few, comparatively, adopted this idea; and I never hear it advocated now. This opinion is founded on the conviction that their labor, however it might be needed, could not be secured, but by a severer system of constraint than that of slavery—that they would constitute a distinct and inferior race of people, which all experience proves to be the greatest evil that could afflict a community. I do not suppose, however, that they would object to their reception in the free States, if they chose to make preparations for their comfortable settlement among them.

5th question—"Is there any good reason to believe that any thing of importance, generally speaking, will be done to prepare the slaves for freedom, before they are made free?"

As the Colonization scheme advances, I think much will be done. Many masters will prepare their young slaves for such a change. Many, who cannot afford to emancipate altogether, will make arrangements with their slaves to go to Africa and remit a moderate price for themselves, as they may be able to do. And if a desire to return to their fathers' land should become general, (as I trust it will,) both among the slaves and free blacks, nothing could be better calculated to improve and exalt the whole colored race. It would encourage them to good conduct, industry, temperance, and all those efforts that men make to better their condition.

6th—"Is there not an under current of opinion and feeling in the South among the more enlightened and philanthropic, and is it not widening and strengthening, against the continuance of the present system, and an increasing conviction that it may safely and advantageously be abolished?"

I have not seen any appearance of such a current for several years past. I think it would be difficult to find any tolerably informed individual who holds such opinions or feelings. There was formerly some feeling of this kind in favor of a gradual abolition of slavery. I think there is none now, unless connected with the condition of removal. I assure you that I never hear, though I converse with men of all sorts, slaveholders and others who hold no slaves, any opinion favorable to emancipation, except on that condition.

7th—"What will probably be the influence upon the southern mind of the experiment now in progress in the West Indies?"

If the southern mind becomes calm and unheated by opposition, and that experiment should succeed, it would, I think, have great effect. Removal from the country might not then be insisted on as a condition of emancipation.

8th—"What, in your opinion, has been the effect, on the whole, at the South, of the efforts of Abolitionists? Were the letters which passed, last winter, between Mr. Elmore and Mr. Birney, read (to any considerable extent) by southern members of Congress? So far as they were read, what was the impression produced by the statements and reasonings of Mr. Birney?"

I think the efforts of the abolitionists have been most unfortunate. There is a great and unfavorable change of opinion and feeling in the whites towards the blacks, which, I think, cannot be otherwise accounted for; and the whole colored race have been injured by these efforts. The free and the slaves have been both subjected to more restraint. The publications mentioned have been very little read by southern men. They would rarely take up any thing understood to be written by a prominent abolitionist.

9th—"Can there be any useful co-operation between good people at the North and South (except by means of the Colonization Society) in efforts for abolishing or meliorating the present system of slavery?"

I think good men at the North, if they will fairly inquire, will, both for the sake of Africa and our own land, prefer the Colonization plan to any other. They must do this soon, as they must soon know (what they may know now) what benefits Africa is receiving, and our Colonists are enjoying, under its efforts. But, if any of our Northern brethren cannot see this, let them prepare an asylum for emancipated slaves among themselves, where they can be usefully employed and happily settled, and raise funds for their removal and settlement. I believe as many could be obtained readily as

could be thus provided for. In this way, they could essentially promote emancipation.

In "meliorating the present system of slavery," they could also do much. This might be done in several ways, but more particularly in assisting in their religious improvement—a subject which now greatly occupies the minds of southern men, particularly since the Southampton insurrection, which, you may know, originated with a religious fanatic, or a hypocrite, playing the fanatic. From a variety of causes, the public mind, particularly of religious professors, has been turned to this subject. The Ass't Bishop of Virginia, a year or two ago, made a strong appeal to the churches of his Diocese; and the ministers of all denominations are taking up the subject, and considerable efforts are making for their regular religious instruction. The Bishop of North Carolina told me, a year ago, of very interesting commencements of this kind introduced into that State. He stated that it was now common for two or three neighboring planters to join in employing a minister for their slaves; and he said he had then applications for ministers for six or seven such situations, and found it impossible to supply them. I was informed, last winter, of the arrangements made by Mr. Rhett, a member of Congress from South Carolina, for the instruction of his negroes.—He employs a minister, who lives on his estate, and devotes himself to the improvement of his slaves, for whom he has built a church, where they have regular service. I made several inquiries of Mr. Rhett, who gave me a very interesting account of his establishment, and says it has introduced order, good conduct and happiness among his slaves to a remarkable degree, and that many of his neighbors are endeavoring to adopt similar arrangements. Now, we want ministers for all these places. The demand for them is now great and earnest; and I believe that, in every neighborhood where there are many slaves, in the middle States, such situations will be found. Let our Northern brethren qualify their young ministers for these interesting charges—qualify them, by making them understand this delicate subject of slavery—or, keeping them pure from all the fanaticism of abolition, send them, with their minds open to conviction, where they may see and judge for themselves, and where they will learn that, while many Christians are holding slaves, from the necessity of their situation, they are holding them without forgetting they are their brethren,—and where they will see slaves far happier than the laboring classes of many countries. At present, young men from the North are excluded from these situations, because they are supposed to be under the influence of abolition principles, and slaveholders are afraid to trust them. Let this prejudice against receiving young men from the North as teachers and ministers in such situations be removed, by a more correct and charitable state of feeling and opinion at the North towards slaveholders, and a wide and most interesting field of labor will be opened to pious young men from the northern States, in which they will be able to do much for the melioration of the present system of slavery, and, in some situations, where it can be done with advantage to the slaves and without danger to the masters, to promote emancipation also.

I will here mention that the religious instruction of the slaves in the middle States (I speak more particularly of Maryland) has been more attended to by the Methodists than by any other denomination. I think more than three-fourths of the whole colored population, where they have access to Methodist churches, belong to that denomination. Nor is there any prejudice against the Methodist teachers and preachers on the part of the masters, although that sect has been always considered friendly to emancipation. A change has, however, taken place, not only in the opinions and feelings of that class of Christians, but in the discipline of their church, which it

may be proper to mention. It shows how Christians, strongly prejudiced against slavery, and anxious to abolish it, have been made to learn, by their own observation and experience, that, under certain circumstances, it is perfectly consistent with Christian principles to purchase and hold slaves.—Methodists formerly denounced slavery in general terms, as it is now denounced at the North. They were never allowed, and would not be now, to act as jurors in a suit for freedom. They were not allowed by their discipline to continue in the church, if they purchased and held slaves. If a member of their church purchased a slave, no matter under what circumstances, the matter was brought before the monthly conference, and it was then determined, the age and value of the slave and the price paid for him being all considered, what was a reasonable term of service to be required of him as a compensation for what his master had paid for him—that is, how many years' service, at the usual rate of hire, would reimburse the advance of the master—and he was then to be no longer a slave, but a servant for that time.

The rule of discipline is now changed; and now, when a member of their church purchases a slave, it is brought, as before, to the consideration of the conference, and the circumstances are inquired into. If it is considered that he has bought from a mercenary motive, for gain alone, without any inducements of kindness or favor towards the slave, he is censured and suspended from his church privileges, and made to do what is thought right, or excommunicated, according to the circumstances of mitigation or aggravation that may be found in the particular case. If he has bought from kindness to the slave, to prevent the separation of a family, or in any way with the motive of bettering his condition, he is allowed to hold him, and is considered as having acted consistently with Christian principles. In this way, Methodists now buy and work slaves as other Christians do; and their church (as is the case with all other denominations) only requires that they shall treat them well. Cruelty to slaves, if charged and sustained against any man belonging to a church of any denomination, would exclude him from its privileges, and would also exclude him from all reputable society. I do not mean to say that the slaves in Maryland are maintained as well as they ought to be: in some parts of the State, I know, as I have already said, their masters are unable to do so.

It may seem strange to gentlemen unacquainted with our institutions how a man can buy a slave from mere charity; yet nothing is more common—as a very short residence in any slave neighborhood would convince them.—Perhaps I may best show this by supposing a case—it is such a one as often occurs: To make it more apposite, I will suppose the person applied to to be a man from the North, with the strongest prejudices against slavery. He buys a farm in Maryland, which he cultivates with hired labor, both because of his opposition to slavery, and because it is, in his opinion, (as in some parts of Maryland it is in fact,) cheaper than slave labor. He has nothing but his farm and its stock, and it requires all its produce, with good management and strict economy, to maintain his family. Such a man, who has lived in this way a year or two, and whom we will designate as Mr. B., is applied to, on a Saturday evening, by Tom, a stout, hearty, young negro, and the following dialogue takes place between them:

Tom. Master, I am come to ask a very great favor.

Mr. B. Well, Tom, let me hear what it is. If what you want is reasonable and in my power, I shall be glad to do it.

Tom. Master, I think it is reasonable, and I hope it will lie in your power. My wife, you know, is a free woman, and has now been in your

service some time. I was hired to you last harvest, and at other times, and you know what sort of a hand I am.

Mr. B. Yes, Tom, I have been well satisfied with both your wife and yourself, and you know that I offered, partly to accommodate you both, to hire you by the year, but your master thought he could not spare you.

Tom. Well, Sir, he must spare me now. I am to be sold; and what I want, and what would make me and my wife happy for our whole lives, is for you to buy me.

Mr. B. Tom, that is out of the question. You know I hold no slaves—I am principled against it. I will go and see your master, and hire you. Surely he will not sell you.

Tom. Sir, he can't help it. They say he has had a power of money to pay for his cousin in town, who was broke up last spring; and another debt has now gone against him, last week, at the court. So he called me into the hall yesterday, and says he, "Tom, you have been a good fellow, and so was your father before you. You'll have to be sold by the Sheriff, if you can't get a master in the neighborhood: go and see what you can do." So he gave me this note, and he gave notes to all but the old people. He said he had been to the gentleman who held the debt; and all he could do was to give him one week, to try and sell the people himself, that the sheriff might n't have to sell them to the soul-drivers. I am sure I am sorry for him, as well as for myself; for he has been a good master to us all.

Mr. B. Tom, I am sorry for you; but I cannot buy a slave—I cannot give such a sanction to this horrible system. You must get somebody else to buy you: I will hire you, and give the highest wages. I know you are a good hand; but I cannot hold a slave—it is against my principles.

Tom could not well understand this; but he went to two or three other neighbors, without success, and he and his wife were in great trouble.

On Sunday night, they were (as usual) called in to family prayers; and it so happened that Mr. B., being in the habit of using, on such occasions, Doddridge's Family Expositor, came to that part of the book which contained the precept of our Saviour of doing to others as we would they should do unto us. The exposition of Doddridge is, as we know, very plain, and very strong. Tom understood it, and thought it a pity that Mr. B.'s *principles* should prevent him from doing the favor he asked. Mr. B. was a Christian; and he felt like a man who has two opposite principles to walk by. He saw it would be a kind thing to buy this poor fellow—that was plain—and that it was just what, in similar circumstances, he should wish done for himself. But slaveholding, he had long settled, was the height of wickedness—and how could he do it? If he could buy him and set him free, then his duty was plain: but this he could not afford to do, with justice to his own family. It would leave him without adequate means to hire labor for his farm. Still he was not at ease; and he arose early in the morning, and called Tom, whom he found taking a sorrowful leave of his wife.

Mr. B. Tom, I am sorry I have not the means of buying you and setting you free. If I could afford it, I would gladly do so.

Tom. Master, if you could buy me and let me work for you as long as I live, that would be all I could ask. You would have to run the risk of my dying or running away; but you would have my labor as long as I worked for you, and this would save you the hire of other hands—so that you might afford to do this, instead of buying me and setting me free for nothing.

Mr. B. That is true, and I am not afraid of your running away, Tom; but I cannot hold a slave—I must not be a slaveholder.

Tom. Master, then hold me, not as a slave, but something else—buy me, and you can call me what you please; you can tell me that I am not a slave, and that I may run away when I please—you know I will not.

Mr. B. Well, Tom, if I could get around this, I do not see how I can buy you. It would be owning your master's right to you as a slave, and his right to sell you.

Tom. Well, it is very hard. I don't see who has got any right to object to your buying or holding me as a slave, if I am agreed to it. If I ask such a favor, and you grant it, to save me from being sold away, who can complain of you for doing such a kindness—for doing as you would be done by?

Whether this argument succeeded with Mr. B. or he was overpowered by the distress of Tom's wife and the sympathy of his own wife and children, who all came around him, it might be hard to determine—but he told Tom to stay where he was, and he rode over to his master's.

Before I conclude what I have to say under this question, permit me again to solicit your attention, and that of your friends, to the present situation of Maryland. This State is a slave State, bordering on a free State.—She is changing her condition, as Pennsylvania and other States have done. Her legislators and citizens very generally avow their determination that she shall be a free State. The free labor of Pennsylvania is flowing over into her, and she can change her laborers; and in many parts of the State bordering on Pennsylvania, there is now scarcely any slavery—certainly none that can be regarded as an evil—for there are no slaves there but such as choose to continue so. Such parts of the State also exhibit a remarkable degree of improvement; so as to convince all that Maryland, in the price and improvements and products of her land, in the increase and improvements of her population, and in many other respects, will derive incalculable benefits from the change.

I shall send you some documents and publications upon this subject, which will show you what the Legislature of that State is doing, and what evident progress is making to accomplish the object of making Maryland a free State.

Thus will soon be worked out this political problem—"A slave State, lying by the side of a free State, will become a free State." I believe this as fully as any demonstration in Euclid.

What a prospect this opens to humane and benevolent men at the North, is obvious—particularly to such as desire to remove this blot from as many of our institutions as possible.

When Virginia becomes the border State, she will be brought under the same process. Indeed, in some parts of that State, it is now in operation. Free labor will be brought to her, and she will find that she can change, and change most beneficially, her system. And so will it work on, till the dark line that separates the free from the slave States reaches the southern border of our land.

Thus, and thus only, is the slavery of the southern States to be approached. In many of them, now, it is absurd to propose any scheme of emancipation, or to address their people upon such a question.

But let the work be confined to the border States, and it will go on rapidly and safely.

The slaves of Maryland are diminishing every year, as will appear by the census. They are going off in various ways—many are sold to the South—many are emancipated—some run away.

Hundreds of masters in Maryland are ready to emancipate their slaves, if they can go away—a condition which they know, from the fullest expe-

rience, is beneficial both to themselves and those they liberate. They have already emancipated a great number—some of whom have remained, and others have gone to Africa—and they know how great and obvious have been the advantages of removal.

In some parts of Maryland, slave labor is no longer profitable. They cannot be maintained there. Their masters must remove with them, or dispose of them in some way. Humanity to them requires this.

Must they, then, go further south, as slaves? or to Africa, as free men?

This is the condition of the colored population of Maryland—this is the alternative presented for them to the consideration of the benevolent.

I agree that, if removal to Africa is this horrible act of cruelty that it is represented to be—if their condition in the colonies there established is as wretched as is asserted—Humanity may stand still, and be indifferent whether they go south, as slaves, or cross the ocean, as freemen.

And this brings me to the last topic of your letter—the present condition and prospects of the Colonization scheme. Examine this thoroughly and impartially, and see whether any thing has been done, or can be done, to compare with it, in its beneficial results to the colored race, here and in Africa.

All I need say of this (as I shall send you publications giving you full information on the subject) is, that I think I have seen more indications of the favor of Providence towards this object than any other I have ever considered—that its success is greater than that of any other similar enterprise ever undertaken, and that I have no doubt of its success—that the long-lost children of ill-fated Africa will be restored to their fathers' land, bearing with them the blessings of religion and civilization, and thus

“Vindicate the ways of God to man.”

I have no objection to your making use of this communication, and of my name, in any way that you may think will do good.

I am yours, respectfully,

F. S. KEY.

P. S. I did not observe that I had omitted to answer a part of your last question.

The publications of the Society will show that many of its members have emancipated their slaves, and sent them to Africa, and others have made arrangements for doing so. Mr. Murray, of Maryland, sent out all his slaves (upwards of 30) nine or ten years ago; and he often hears from them, and they speak with great satisfaction of their situation. Mr. Fitzhugh, of Virginia, another member of the Society, has made provision, by his will, for the removal of all his slaves (I believe about 200) to Africa. Most of those now in Africa have been emancipated with the view to their removal there.

F. S. K.

DEBATE ON COLONIZATION.

[From the *Cin. Republican* of March 8.]

The interesting debate between the Rev. Mr. Gurley, the Agent of the American Colonization Society, and the Rev. Mr. Blanchard, an Abolitionist, which commenced on Monday, closed on yesterday afternoon. The controversy was the result of a challenge from the abolitionists. Mr. Blanchard is their proudest and ablest champion. Mr. Gurley was trium-

phant throughout. His closing speech, on yesterday, was one of the most splendid specimens of genuine eloquence we have ever listened to. He fully and triumphantly sustained the cause of colonization, and scattered to the winds every argument advanced by his opponent. This is not our opinion alone, but it is the general sentiment of those present.

We propose, at no distant day, when the excitement which this discussion has created has subsided, to notice, at length, some of the arguments advanced by the abolition champion, and to hold them up to that public indignation which they merit. His appeal to the prejudices and worst passions of the black population, who were there in numbers, cannot be too strongly condemned. The man who will endeavor to enlist the passions of one class of citizens against another, to the detriment of the peace and order of society, is an unworthy and dangerous member of society, and this was the tendency of the reverend agitator's remarks, from the beginning to the end.

The colored population are already sufficiently impudent and insolent to their white brethren, without the aid of any such ghostly prompters as the Rev. Mr. Blanchard. It was only yesterday that we overheard a negro remark to his companion, in the street, that a gentleman who participated in the debate at the late Colonization meeting, at the college hall, ought to have his throat cut, for language said to have been uttered by him upon that occasion. They had been drinking in the poisonous eloquence of the Rev. Mr. Blanchard.

We are not in the temper or mood to make further comment upon the dangerous consequences to society which such appeals to the prejudices of our black population as we have animadverted upon, are calculated to produce.

ANTI-ABOLITION MEETING.

At one of the largest meetings ever held in the city of Cincinnati, assembled at the court house, on Saturday evening, the 9th March, David Griffin, Esq., was appointed president, Major J. F. Conover and General C. Hales vice-presidents, and G. W. Bradbury and J. Graham secretaries.

General R. T. Lytle was called for, and, in his able and eloquent manner, stated the object of the meeting—after which, he offered the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The citizens of Cincinnati, having, for a length of time, endured, with a patience and forbearance as commendable to their good taste, as a law-abiding and peace-seeking people, as it was abhorrent to their good feelings, high sense of justice and unquestionable patriotism, the active operations of a *meagre clan*, who style themselves *Abolitionists*, and seek, by the public exposition of doctrines conceived to be not only dangerous, but fatal to *order, liberty and law*, consider it due to themselves, at this time, as American citizens, in a public and solemn manner, to protest against their proceedings, to denounce their measures, and, by a full, clear and emphatic expression of public sentiment, as it really exists with almost the entire mass of our population, to repress their efforts, to repudiate the doctrines of this misguided and dangerous association, and in the most public manner to convey this sentiment abroad, with the seal of their indignant reprehension and rebuke—Be it therefore

Resolved, by the citizens of Cincinnati, in town meeting assembled, That they remember with reverence that compact which, after the severe toil and most self-sacrificing energies of our revolutionary sages, resulted in the formation of the existing republic, and induced the sovereign and independent States, by articles of confederation, to establish this *Union*, as a legacy worthy of our protection and dear to the hearts of American freemen.

Resolved, That any association calculated, by its principles, to break this contract, is a breach of faith to the dead, an absolute wrong to the living—detestable alike for its bad faith and its insurrectionary and most treasonable designs.

Resolved, That, so long as these societies exist, and continue their exertions, we will oppose them, by such legislation as will place the aiders and abettors of such schemes in their true positions, as parricidal enemies to the land that has fostered and protected them, and use all honest efforts to make the propagandist of their doctrines amenable, by law, to the penalties appropriate to a mischievous internal foe.

Resolved, That, in the agency of the Colonization Society, we discover the only sure, safe and feasible prospect of relief from the ills of slavery, and cordially embrace it, as the most mild, and rational, and philanthropic means of African freedom, and emancipation for that population now resident in America.

M. N. McLean, Esq., moved that the preamble and resolutions be referred to a committee of five, for the purpose of making any amendments they might consider necessary. This motion was discussed at length, and finally lost, by a large majority. The preamble and resolutions were then adopted by the meeting, without a dissenting voice.

J. Graham offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, Abolitionists, by their measures, are not only striking at the basis of our Union, and sowing discord among the different States, but are also pursuing a course eminently and inevitably calculated to prevent all melioration of the condition of the colored race.

The meeting was addressed by Gen. Lytle, W. F. Thomas, Esq., and several others.

The proceedings of the meeting were conducted with the most perfect order and harmony, and adjourned at an early hour.

Resolved, That the papers of this city be requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

D. GRIFFIN, President.

CHARLES HALES, }
J. F. CONOVER, } Vice Presidents.

G. W. Bradbury, }
Jos. Graham, } Secretaries.

NOTICE TO EMIGRANTS FOR LIBERIA.

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington City, March 15, 1839.

The ship *Saluda* is expected to complete her present voyage to Liberia, and arrive at Philadelphia about the middle of June. She will be immediately prepared for another voyage to Monrovia, but will receive emigrants or goods for any of the settlements in Liberia. Those emigrants in Ohio, New Jersey and New York, who have applied for passage, will prepare to embark from Philadelphia about the 25th of July. Emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina will repair to Norfolk as early as the 1st of August, where the ship will touch to receive them on board.

Those who may wish to go to Liberia in this vessel, or their friends, will please to forward their names and places of residence to this office as early as possible, and state what provision has been, or will be, made for the expenses of each emigrant, so that notice may be given them if any change should be made in the time of the vessel's sailing.

The *Saluda*, being fitted for a packet, can furnish the best of accommodations for 150 emigrants, and is a remarkably fast sailer.

Enterprising colored men who propose to emigrate to Liberia will find the present a favorable time to settle there. A tract of rich land, lying along the St. Paul's river, will be prepared for allotment to settlers this year. The mill seats on this river, near Millsburg, a large and flourishing farming settlement, will be offered to any individual, or company, who has the means and skill to improve them. This property must soon become of great value, as the river is navigable for boats over two hundred miles above the falls, passing through a country thickly wooded with the teak, a very valuable timber for ship building, and a variety of other beautiful wood for furniture. The present prosperous state of the colonies will ensure a large demand, and high prices, for common building lumber. And as the lands in the vicinity are well adapted to the cultivation of the sugar cane, the grinding can be done by water, which gives greater value to the mill privileges. The bed of the river is rock, and the banks favorable for the erection of a dam. Tanners and brick-makers will find great encouragement at present in the colonies.

In addition to the brig Mail, owned by the Mississippi Colonization Society, and the ship Saluda, the Maryland Colonization Society is about procuring a ship. All these will be employed as packets between this country and Liberia: and it is expected that a commercial company, now forming to trade to Liberia, will employ two vessels the ensuing summer; by all which, communications with the colonies may be had monthly, and great facilities will thus be furnished to those who may be engaged in the erection of machinery, which is obtained from this country.

Per order of the Executive Committee.

S. WILKESON, Chairman.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society from Feb. 25 to March 31, 1839.

Gerritt Smith's Plan of Subscription.

Judge Burnett, Cincinnati, his 10th instalment,	-	-	-	-	-	\$100
George Burwell, Virginia, his 10th instalment,	-	-	-	-	-	100
John M'Donogh, New Orleans, his 8th instalment,	-	-	-	-	-	100

Collections in Churches.

Hopewell, Chester District, S. C., in Associated Reformed Church, Rev. Warren Fleniken,	-	-	-	-	-	25
Illinois, collections made by Porter Clay, Esq.,	-	-	-	-	-	45 50
New England, collections made by Elliott Cresson, Esq.,	-	-	-	-	-	40
Ohio, by Rev. John B. Pinney, Agent,	-	-	-	-	-	355
Plattsburg, N. York, by Caleb Nichols,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Warwick, do. in the Reformed Dutch Church,	-	-	-	-	-	6
Zanesville, Ohio, by Rev. R. R. Gurley,	-	-	-	-	-	96
Zenia, do. by do.	-	-	-	-	-	30

Donations.

Amherst, Ohio, E. Redington, on account of the ship,	-	-	-	-	-	5
Bradleyville, S. C., a friend of Colonization,	-	-	-	-	-	60
Green County, Ohio, James Miller,	-	-	-	-	-	10
Middletown, Conn., Richard Hubbard, subscribed to W. Booth,	-	-	-	-	-	100
Samuel Russell, do.,	-	-	-	-	-	100
Petersburg, Va., Mrs. May,	-	-	-	-	-	4
Springfield, Ohio, from N. H. Y.,	-	-	-	-	-	19
Washington, sundry individuals, by Judge Wilkeson,	-	-	-	-	-	70
Yates County, N. York, Wm. Oliver,	-	-	-	-	-	25

Auxiliary Society.

Springfield (Ohio) Auxiliary Society, C. Anthony, Tr.,	-	-	-	-	-	35
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African Repository.

Thomas J. Bullitt, Easton, Maryland,	-	-	-	-	-	5
Wm. Wilson, Chesterville, S. C.,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Dr. Skinner, for Rev. Dr. Alexander, Princeton, and Bi. G. M. Done, Burlington,	-	-	-	-	-	4
Wm. Williamson, Georgetown, D. C.,	-	-	-	-	-	6
Jacob Landes, Sam's Creek, Md.,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Dr. Daniel C. Brewer, \$1 50, Chas. Stearnes, \$11 50, Springfield, Mass.,	-	-	-	-	-	13
Chas. C. Landon and Gen. Edwin D. King, Perry C. H., Ala., \$7 each,	-	-	-	-	-	14
Chas. S. Carey, Chelsea, Mass.,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Geo. Stillman, Columbia, Va., per Mr. Hill,	-	-	-	-	-	6
Wm. D. Seymour, Carlisle, Pa.,	-	-	-	-	-	5
Saml. Whelpley, Ashtabula, Ohio,	-	-	-	-	-	5
John H. Eaton, Agent, New York,	-	-	-	-	-	55
Charles Stearnes, Springfield, Mass.,	-	-	-	-	-	20
Rev. M. Chase, Agent, Clinton, N. Y.,	-	-	-	-	-	7

Liberia Herald.

George A. Jones, Zanesville,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Uriah Park, do.,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Dr. John A. Turner, do.,	-	-	-	-	-	2
Thomas J. Bullitt, Easton, Maryland,	-	-	-	-	-	5





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